/122 cont./

191 Unfortunately neither Carlotta nor Luisa and Maria spoke one syllable of their mother tongue.

837 The young men had the old women. It is therefore not improbable that Luis, who himself boasted of the conquest of three women's hearts, was not wrong when he maintained that occasional /123/ unfaithfulness is not uncommon and also is not

593 severely judged. The good-natured, aged Caetano, he said, even fell sick, to his astonishment, a short time after the visit of the Martyrios expedition, but he was unable to be rallen with his Luisinha for more than a few days.

162

Luiz Cajibí and Carlotta Parecí.

847 The use of abortive remedies is said to be common and to
● 161 explain the small number of children. The end of this community can clearly be foreseen.

162 The following was the result of my census:
62 Felipe (absent) married to Carlotta Parecí, children.
[125] Caetano " " Luisa Cajibí, children.
Miguel, Joaquim } brothers " " Feliciana, one small daughter.
João, Antonio } brothers (our companion).
Joaquina, sister of Miguel and Joaquim.
Marianna.

2. Seaman--1956,D-5 (1894, 1897-1898) 1894 497 Seaman, G.
Transcript 1963

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metals, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-as monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds, the men do the hunting, the women the fishing. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Nu-Aruak women.

The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakairí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Kahlúna, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes. One might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakairí /Seaman/ was still narrow and had

/ 348 cont. /

		1946	1972
14 Dorada Cabeçon	110	Regime do Jauri and Campo da Coiçara	40
15 Coyaçu	200	Between sources of the S. Lourenço and the Tequary, between Penará and Paranatitse	400
16 Carmelo	?	Source region of the S. Lourenço	?
17 Bacalhau	200	Source region of Paraguassu	200
18 Capitã	?	Source region of Paraguassu	?
19 Barbado	400	Paraguary to the right and Serra dos Parecis	400
20 Pintado	250	Campos and Serra dos Parecis	250
21 Matrinchã	600		600
22 Cabeçudo	300		300
23 Namboquara	600	Rio do Peixe (to the Xingu)	600
24 Tapanhuna	800	Ribeirão (trunk) dos Tapanhunas (to the Xingu)	800
25 Aparecido	2700	Xingu and Juruena	2700
26 Mequem	?	East of the Guaporé	?
27 Guaxeym	?	West of the Guaporé	?
28 Curimatã	?	Both banks of the Mamoré and Madeira	?
29 Pacú	?	Eastern bank of the Mamoré	?
30 Canabis	?	Western bank of the Mamoré	?
31 Jaraquí	?		
32 Campinas	1000	South of the Mamoré and Madeira	10000
33 Aruanã	?	South of Madeira up to the Jamari (1)	?
	1 30120		66 710

1. Empties into the Madeira 14 leagues below the confluence of both rivers.

/1.5 cons./

Going on from the Rio Preto Bokoni, on whom we do not have more precise data than that they were few, the remaining Bokoni population and, especially, those of the Rio Paranaunga were also very scant in this period. As Karl von den Steinen, on his second expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1887, did not have the opportunity to visit the Bokoni of the Rio Novo, we have no precise data concerning their population in this year. We only know that their population three years earlier, in the year 1884, was 51, among whom were 16 men, 19 women, and 20 children. In the same year the population of the Rio Paranaunga Bokoni was much smaller because these Indians had been hit, some six years before, by a measles epidemic. The entire population of the Rio Paranaunga Bokoni at the time consisted of only 10 men, eight women, and four children, of whom five men, three women, and a boy were /lit./ absent, and some of these were not expected to return.(3) The number

3. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, op. cit., p. 120. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, op. cit., p. 25.

is increased, however, if we add the two Paresi women and the two Kayabi women who were married to Bokoni men. When Karl von den Steinen visited the Bokoni village again, in the year 1887, one Bokoni man had died in the interval, some had moved to the Cuiaba, and no increase by birth had occurred. If we add up the above-mentioned figures and include the two Paresi and Kayabi women, the total number for all the Bokoni of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranaunga reaches 81 individuals.

The above-mentioned sisters of the eastern Bokoni were at the time under the Indian Superintendency in Cuiaba, and the administration of the town of Mato Grosso had exerted repeated influence on the eastern Bokoni men, increasing the authority of the caciques or strengthening it with insignia. Thus Cacique

autotrans-B--19 E-S (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SFT Bakairi SFT

/Xil cont./

Seguindo and his people had a large number of cattle and several saddle horses. Although among themselves they spoke only in the Bakairí language, all of the men knew the Brazilian language, and it was said that Cacique Seguindo knew how to read and speak some French. The Rio Novo Bakairí maintained at the time active relations with their fellow countrymen on the Rio Paranatinga. With the eastern Bakairí they hardly had any contacts, except for the Bakairí Joaquim who was the uncle of Cacique Antonio of the Paranatinga aldeia and who had a young Bakairí from the Rio Batovi over in his service.

Different were the conditions of the Bakairí in the Rio Paranatinga aldeia at the time of my visit. While the population at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions had dwindled in such a way that Karl von den Steinen foresaw the end of the community, the population of the aldeia had increased in the meantime with the addition of numerous Bakairí from the Xingu River region. The number of these Bakairí, called by their Paranatinga fellow countrymen Xinguanos, climbed to 34 at the time of my stay with these Indians. The leader of the community was Antonio, who was at the time at the peak of his power. The only insignia /Xil/ of his rank as commandante of the Indians of the upper Xingu River region, officially granted by the Mato Grosso government, were a pair of red soldier's trousers with a wide white stripe which ran down the side of each leg, but a more practical symbol of his power were several good firearms hanging in his house, which he also used occasionally, according to the Mato Grosso men, against undesirable fellow countrymen. The majority of the Xinguanos then living in his aldeia were totally dependent upon him with regard to economic conditions and made up a valuable component of his power, for he had supplied the most trustworthy men among them with firearms. The small military force was important above all to insure contact between the Rio Paranatinga and the tributaries of the Xingu River against the Kayabí who had unpredictably begun at the time to

[2a cont.]

231 a table made of wattle and provided regularly with water, if possible monkey nut.

178 Among the various crafts of the Kalkatcha Bakairí, pottery-
823 making, plaiting, & spinning were still maintained in the
[285 ancestral form. For preparation was also still the same as
[283 described by Karl von den Steinen 50 years past. The only
[254 essential difference present in regard to woodworking, for
179 which at this time steel tools were used, so that the craft no
[322 longer depended on the axe, drill with stone point, shells,
[412 and the teeth of fish & other animals. Another acquisition from
[301 the various expeditio which had passed through their territory
were ear pendants of multicoloured glass beads with which many
women and children especially, were well provided. European
[291 clothing was seen on on exceptional occas. Thus the first man
who came out of houses in Morgen Aldeia to greet me had on
trousers which he himself given at the time of a visit to the
Rio Paranatinga Aldeia and which surely had never been washed
since. As a rule the[ir] small triangle of bark was the sole
[291 universal garment of a women and young girls, and a fine
thread belt and bodycoat the men's apparel.

114 When Karl von d Steinen visited the Rio Kalkatcha Indians,
36 the first Bakairí Aldeia called Morgen, consisted of only two
39 large houses of ubafo and one small house for hosts, with an
345 oval form, while the second and third Aldeias each consisted of
three large houses of ubafo and of one house for hosts. The
[61 the number of houses Bakairí Aldeias at the time of my stay
among these Indians of increase, and for the reason I do not
hold to correct Hermann Meyer's observation that the tribe was
114 already "greatly decreasing" at the time. (36) No doubt there
36
161

36. Hermann Meyer, Ibid., p. 126.

were then only two Bakairí Aldeias on the Rio Kalkatcha, the first, Morgen, already mentioned by Karl von den Steinen, and the

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34

/24 cont./
mound, Mamanum, also called Murwa, but for a short /25/
time there was also an aldea called Bodoko in the region that
extends between the Kuluselu and Batawy rivers. From the fact
that the wife of the Bakairí, Meyukí, who was the head of one
of the Mamanum houses, lived in that aldea, it follows that there
were intimate relations between the inhabitants of these two
aldeas.

Unfortunately I was unable to obtain, during my journey
to the Rio Kuluselu, exact data on the population of the first
aldea of Maigon and of Bodoko aldea situated between the
Kuluselu and Batawy rivers, just as it is not possible to determine
exactly the population movement of the Bakairí of the Rio
Kuluselu in the period of time which elapsed between Karl von
den Steinen's expedition and my stay among these Indians in
the year 1911. But I can well recall clearly that the population
of Maigon aldea had more than the 21 individuals it had at the
time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition. Also, from the fact
that the aldea consisted at the time of my trip of two houses of
similar extent of the two houses that Karl von den Steinen
found, it can be concluded that the population had increased
considerably in the interval. As to the inhabitants of the
second Rio Kuluselu aldea, Karl von den Steinen estimated them
at some 41 individuals, which correspond more or less to the
population of Mamanum aldea in later times, which I estimated
at 43 individuals. The population of the third Bakairí aldea,
which had formerly existed on the Kuluselu, numbered, accord-
ing to Karl von den Steinen, some 100 individuals, a figure
that seems very high compared with the number (three) of houses
in the aldea and with the population of the other aldeas. If
we add up the figures estimated and named by Karl von den
Steinen for the population of the Bakairí aldeas which existed
at the time of his expedition on the Rio Kuluselu, we get a
total of some 162 Bakairí who lived on the Rio Kuluselu. When
I was in Mamanum there were 43 individuals present in the
aldea, but [illegible] that a number of the inhabitants were

/21 cont. /

temporarily absent at the time, so we must take into account a population in Matamata of more than 45 persons. I have already mentioned above that the population of Maigon aldea at the time of my trip was much larger than Karl von den Steinen estimated it to be at an earlier time. Still to be added is the population of the aldea recently founded between the Kuliseu and Batovy rivers, whose total we do not know, because it should undoubtedly be regarded as having been founded by the Kuliseu Bakairí and a part of the Kinguaon, who have moved temporarily or for longer to the Rio Paranatinga.

It is certain that the epidemics of the expeditions made to the regions of the sources of the Xingu River have been played out with regard to the subsequent history of the Bakairí of the Kuliseu and Batovy rivers. Thus, Cacique Tumayoua of the first aldea on the Kuliseu, who had first helped Karl von den Steinen in his undertaking in these regions, had been assassinated by his own fellow countrymen shortly before the time of my expedition. I have already mentioned that the inhabitants of the same aldea had lain in wait for José Carvalho Arouca he had become too involved /21/ with the women. Another consequence of these expeditions was the fact that the relations of the Rio Kuliseu Bakairí with the other tribes that lived farther down the river, especially the Yaruhuá and the Nahukuá /Nahukuma?/, had already become strained at the time because these Indians envied the Bakairí for having received the lion's share of the precious articles brought by the explorers. But, in short, the Rio Kuliseu Bakairí, after their first contact with the whites, had gone on living as before without being discommoded by others. Their social organization, their legal ideas, the form of their economy, their customs, and their crafts were at the time of my stay among them still almost the same as in former times.

We received the first information on the Bakairí, after my journey, in the year 1911 through Antonio Pyrineus de Souza, who, on the occasion of his expedition devoted to measuring

/Text/

In order to protect themselves against the numerous supernatural dangers that surrounded them, the Bakairí /Bakairi/ made use of two methods: shamanism and the ritual ware, or ritual exclusion. The aim of this article is to examine these two methods of Bakairí culture in the light of data gathered by us (1) and with the help of the existing relevant

1. The data that we present were gathered in 1947, during a visit to the Simões Lopes Indian Post of the Indian Protection Service, which was sponsored by the School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo in collaboration with the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution. Except where specifically mentioned as a footnote, the data mentioned were obtained from the Simões Lopes Indians.

literature. However, although the Bakairí have been visited from an early date by several ethnologists and their customs have been mentioned in the literature to support ethnological theories, very little is yet known on their culture as a whole. Most of the reports left by scholars do not give a rounded view of Bakairí culture and focus rather on their mythology. On the other hand, the present-day Bakairí are quite acculturated, and it is difficult to obtain complete data on their old culture. We shall attempt nevertheless to try to contribute here to a clarification of the problem.

The Bakairí now number about 250 individuals, according to the estimate of the Indian Protection Service, /Text/ in 1947. They live in a village in Mato Grosso, at the Simões Lopes Post of the Indian Protection Service, on the banks of the Paranatinga River, and in groups scattered along the

[941-A]

THE BACAIRI

This brief account of the Bacairi is based on field work done among the Bacairi living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso. This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Servico de Protecção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosso in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack mens, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr. Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairi, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairi.

According to estimates made in 1947 by the Brazilian Indian Service (Servico de Protecção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairi living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The Bacairi claim that the whole tribe originally lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (southwestern tributary of the Tapajos River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 80 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 30 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairi settlement on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairi now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

[P 90-4]

				Old	
		Men	Women	men	Total
175	Rio Novo	6	14	10	30
62	Parentintiga	7	6	5	17
	On Rio Batovi:				
	First village	5	10	7	22
	Second village	6	16	17	39
	Third village	5	13	13	31
	Fourth village	7	17	15	39
	Total	29	76	67	172

175 62 By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900-1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Parentintiga he saw 24 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 68. On the Kulsu River where [illegible] You dos Sonhos had visited 6 villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two

ECONOMY

SHELTER

24 While in the Xingú watershed a Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of a Rio Kulisevo. A village (*ámodo*) consisted always to eight houses (*kwing*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tsuiwo*. The Bacairi hut was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large dwelling-villages were occupied by three to five families.

3½ In the center of every village too was a communal or *Bora* house (*kudaiki*) which the men kept their ornaments and ritual instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kudaiki*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, only oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in wh the sacred flutes were kept. Women were permitted to enter this house, as they were outlawed to see the sacred flutes. The villages are connected by roads running along the river bk.

EQUIPMENT

27 In the center of each house the was a storage space (*ilida*) where maize, corn meal, and other foods were kept in ground-wells (*kidde*). Cooking was done in a small shed the back of the house, but food was eaten inside. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*emdde*) in which the people slept. Oth furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,